EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

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(National Cultural Liberation
Movement) and
Chief Executive of KwaZulu

at the

OPENING OF OKHAHLAMBA HIGH SCHOOL - AND TSHANIBEZWE JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

and at

THE INAUGURATION OF THE AMANGWANE REGIONAL BRANCH OF INKATHA, - OKHAHLAMBA -

SUNDAY 19 SEPTEMBER, 1976

I would like to thank the Chief of AmaNgwane, members of A AmaNgwane Tribal Authority and of AmaZizi Tribal Authority, the Inkatha Branch of this Region for extending to me the cordial invitation that has made it possible for me to be here today.

This is indeed a very important occasion. It is an occasion which is historic in the life of the Zulu people, the Ama-Ngwane Tribe, in particular, and of the people of OKhahlamba.

In many ways it is a very sad occasion for me to be here. For many years, at least not less than 20 years ago, I had hoped to come here to visit my beloved friend and colleague in the person of the late Chief Ndungunya Hlongwane of this famous tribe. I must not be misunderstood here to be saying what I am saying here as just a form of politeness, to you. Many people did not know that there has never been

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any Tribal-Chief in the whole Zulu Nation, with whom I had such close ties as I had with the late Chief Ndungunye Hlongwane. I first met the late Chief of AMaNgwane at Vuma Farm, in the Eshowe district. At that time it was customary for officials of the department of Bantu Administration and Development to arrange special courses for Chiefs of kwaZulu on various subjects.

When I met the Chief we were immediately drawn towards each other, and we became very close friends. One common bond between us, was the fact that we both led tribes that seemed disenchanted with the gospel that we were then exposed to, on the "acdeptance of the system of Bantu Authorities", as we were implored to do during these courses. Our approach to this matter was similar. We both felt that as Tribal-Chiefs, we were servants of our tribes. We both felt that any new system of government had to be "accepted" not by us as Chiefs, but by our people, if the question of "acceptance" was at issue at all. Both the AmaNgwane and the Buthelezi Tribes adopted the attitude of "wait and see" how the system operated amongst those who had already "accepted" the system. This was our standpoint throughout that period of pseudo-wooing, which was an odd mixture of cajolery coaxing and coercion . It was not until we were told that the Magistrates, who had given us the impression that we had a choice in the matter "were wrongly instructed" and that in fact we had no such choice that we complied together with our tribes, willy-nilly, as is the case with all legislation imposed on Blacks by Pretoria.

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At this time the Chief was a tower of strength to me, and we exchanged emissaries and correspondence, which was a delicate operation in those days. On a day like this, I wish to repeat my deep sense of sorrow at the fact that my friend and brother, Chief Ndungunye ka Bambasa Hlongwane, was called to higher service, at the prime of his life, before I was able to visit him here. He intended also paying me a similar visit. I cannot think of the late Chief without thinking of his Principal Induna, who also died at the prime of his life in the person of Elliott Hlatshwayo. He was a strong link between the two of us, that is between me and his Chief. He was bearer of several errands from the Chief to me, and I passed on several messages to the Chief through him, during those dark and dangerious days. I am deeply grieved that he and the Chief were not spared to see this day for us to reminisce with me on this occasion.

In recent years the late Mr. Bernard Mahlobo also served to keep me in touch with the AmaNgwane Tribe.

I wish to apologise to you all for begining my speech on what is a happy occasion with such sad note. Do forgive me. It would be wrong for me having this opportunity of meeting memmbers of the Tribe, not to begin by saying to them how I am saddened, to be here for the first time since the tribe lost such outstanding leaders. This is part of our culture, and it is my duty today to pay this tribute to your late Chief and his Adviser. I pay tribute to them as leaders of

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sterling qualities. The strling qualities they possessed in such abundance, were indeed a reflection of the sterling qualities of this great and famous people, the AmaNgwane tribe. In paying this tribute to them, I am at the same time paying tribute to you for having had as a father a man of such great qualities as my brother and friend, in the person of the late Chief Ndungunye Hlongwane. At the same time, I have to pay this tribute to his Aide and adviser in the person of Mr. Elliott Hlatshwayo. I would like to believe today that they died of natural causes and because, their Maker called them to higher service. I do hope that what I heard at the time of their demise that they did not die of natural causes is not true, for I shudder to think of the penalty which still awaits such person or persons, if any, who caused their demise, on the day of Judgement. The crime of snuffing out such lives at the prime of life, and thereby impoverishing our whole Nation, would I am sure be an unforgivable sin.

Fortunately for us life must go on. As the British always put it at the demise of their Monarchs - The King is dead, long live the King". Our tears are wiped off by the knowledge that although the Chief died, our tears have been wiped off by our having his Son as leader and Chief of his people at this time. Because of the friendship I had with the Chief's father, I regard him in a sense as my own Son. Nothing therefore gives me as much pride as coming here on this auspicious occasion, a triple occasion at that.

To me 5/

To me this is a reassurance that the dreams Ndunguny[a] and Mangosuthu shared about their people, and all the things God meant them to be are now materialising. To me this itself confirms that as the poet says that, "lives of great men do leave footprints on the sands of time". If the Chief was still alive today he would be proud of the Ama-Ngwane Tribal Authority of his tribe, and of his Son, who is your leader and Chief today. I consider it a privilege for which I praise God, for having been spared to come here on such a great occasion which marks a watershed in the development of this great tribe. I also wish to pay tribute to the late Chief Bangani Miya and the AmaZizi Tribe for their contribution towards the building costs of these schools.

I wish to congratulate you on this occasion for not allowing our poverty as a people to stifle your ambitions as a people. We all know that we are the only people in South Africa, that is Blacks, who have to bear this burden of paying for our education, and even for buildings such as the one I have come here to open today. It is clear that the selfishness of our White Countrymen is such that we will continue to bear this burden for quite a while. There is a point of view which has emerged during these recent riots in South Africa. It is the point of view which says that since we Blacks are also Citizens of South Africa who are entitled to the same free educational facilities as other Citizens of South Africa of other racial groups, we must now reject the present poor facilities we have, even to the extent of razing them to the ground with sticks of matches. I wish to say that I can quite understand this feeling amongst

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some of our youth of wanting to reject outright such inferior facilities. But I do not subscribe to the view that because one feels so strongly about those inferior facilities available to Blacks that one must go so far as to set alight these available facilities, however inferior. This is in fact a set-back for us in many ways. I know that the system whereby one has to financially bleed the poorest section of the Community in order to provide them with facilities is both wicked, and indefensible. I however believe that it is still a miracle for which we can only praise God, that despite Bantu Education and these very inferior facilities that our children are forced to use, that there still emerges a breed of youngsters who see White South Africa's iniquitous racial discrimination for the crime against humanity that it is. This very fact should convince us that we have to make full use of these available facilities, than live in the twilight of absolute ignorance. We know that it is a measure of our people's sterling qualities that they manage to reach this high standard of education, and awareness, not because of the inferior facilities, but in spite of them. The fact that we can still reach these heights, despite all these deprivations is a tribute to our human dignity, which refuses to bend knees to White baaskap, despite all the outfit for brainwashing our Children, entailed in subjecting them to the system of Bantu Education.

I was quite shamed by Mr. Vorster's statement at the

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Nationalist Party Congress in Pretoria, a few days ago, when he said that by burning down our schools, we blacks were punishing ourselves, because the money that is spent in putting up these buildings is our money. One must admit however reluctantly that there is an element of truth in what Mr. Vorster said. We know how our youth have reached the frame of mind which seeks to destroy these buildings. But our understanding of the frustrations of our people and their despair can never detract from what Mr. Vorster said. The Whites lose nothing when the future of our people in the form of these buildings goes up in flames each time a school-building is razed by fire.

There are in fact many Whites who are pleased that this is happening. As a matter of interest when I went to Soweto, recently, there were rumours that not all the Schools were destroyed by black children. I found it difficult to accept that this was merely a wild rumour, whilst appreciating that in a moment of crisis many apocryphal stories abound.

We are ashamed as the Government of kwaZulu that the government of South Africa passes the buck to us, of bearing responsibility for the education of our people, when we have not the wherewithal to do this job properly. Had we the means we would not mind at all. Thus it is cause for great concern that during the present financial year only R750,000,000 was set aside in our kwaZulu budget for the purpose of subsidising Community schools such as these ones, on a R for R basis. In the past, we have only been able to

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afford a maximum of R700 as a subsidy per class-room. With the escalation of building costs every day of the week, this ceased long ago to be a realistic amount out of which one can build a class-room. The cost of a class-room is now R2,658,00 . The kwaZulu Executive Council, has recently raised the amount of subsidy per class-room for Community projects like yours for the financial year 1976/ 1977 to R1,200 per class-room, in an attempt to meet the Communities half-way on the cost of such buildings as I have come here to open.

After liberation, I feel certain that we will be proud of these gallant efforts of our people in bearing costs of buildings such as these beautiful buildings we are here to open. I believe in black-consciousness and in black self-reliance and self-help. Black-consciousness does not tell us to sit on our bottoms merely because other men are oppressing us, and to spend all our time crying our hearts out or in indulging in a lot of intellectual hot-air, in an attempt to "conscientize" our people about their oppression, about which they need no such lessons from us. Black-consciousness demands of us to stand out tall above all the silly attempts of our oppressors to deny us our dignity. We cannot wait for the post-liberation era, before we express our human dignity in actions. It is to me the expression of that dignity that despite your poverty, you have managed to put up these magnificent buildings. These are projects of pride not merely because of the mortar and bricks that

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were used to construct them, but because they will stand for all time also as a monuments to the sweat from the black-man's brow. They will testify to the coming generations, that we were not broken by the draconian laws which the present Regime has hatched out for our mental enslavement in the past 28 years. Can anyone in his right senses ever conceive of the silly idea of putting into flames these great monument to black resistance to white attempts at our dehumanization? I believe that black sanity precludes us from allowing our anger and anguish to sicken our minds to that extent.

I wish to congratulate the whole community of this area for the sacrifices that have been made in order to put up these two schools.

To the students, let me say that these are yours. But remember that they do not only belong to you, but also to future generations that will follow in your footsteps. For goodness sake, do not for a moment forget the sacrifices that have made it possible for your parents to put these up. It must always inspire you to stand tall, as it is in itself evidence of our people's resilient qualities, which shine out despite the dismal role the present oppressive Regime has assigned for them in our South African Society. Remember that whatever subsidies come from the kwaZulu Governmet is also not money which comes from the pockets of the Cabinet of kwaZulu or the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, members,

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but it is funds we administer which come directly and indirectly from taxes of our people, which includes your own parents. Looked at from either way, this is your own money, do plaase always remember that. I wish to congratulate both the AmaNgwane and the AmaZizi Tribes for these achievements. It is now my pleasure to declare the Okhahlamba High School, and the Tshanibezwe Junior Secondary School officially open.

As you well know, this is a double-pronged function. I am also here, as President of Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, our National Cultural Liberation Movement. I have been invited here in order to inaugurate the Regional Branch of Inkatha.

Inkatha was revived and set-up in order to enable us to struggle for our liberation. We are an unliberated people, and the mere fact that we still have to struggle to build schools such as this one, underlines the fact that we are still a bonded people. No oppressed people have even been truly liberated without them struggling to achieve their own liberation. The Government system of "Homelands" was never meant to liberate us in the true sense of that word. You people of this district need no confirmation of this fact from me, as your whole experience testifies to this fact. KwaZulu, which is supposed to be our Country or "Homeland" as it is called, is meant to be an archipelago of 10 separate pieces, which will be uncontiguous. Does anyone need more

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evidence from me, that this being the case this policy remains a big-bluff? The Nationalist Regime meant it to bluff blacks, but in fact they have so far managed only to bluff themselves, if they think the people of kwaZulu or the majority of Blacks will ever be led by them successfully along this primrose path.

This policy is supposed to be based on "our culture and traditions" according to Nationalist Party Salesmen, who try to sell it to our people. And yet you here are about to be moved from your traditional area, your real "Homeland" in order to make this policy work? Who is bluffed by all this double-talk? Certainly not the majority of Blacks. After our people are shunted around as pawns on a chess-board kwaZulu, will still remain like a chess-board, and will never have territorial integrity. After all the sacrifices that are being demanded of us, there is still no Country for $4\frac{1}{2}$ million Zulus, but bits and pieces all over the place. The inhumanity of shunting our people around for an ideological game dreamed up by the Nationalist Party, has yet to be surpassed in the history of man. The inhumanity and callousness of it boggles the mind.

It is because of these realisations that we decided to set up Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, to enable us to stand up together as one cohesive force to face our problems as Blacks.

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Knowing the patriotism of the people of this district, the AmaNgwane and AmaZizi I was not in the least surprised when within weeks of our setting up Inkatha, we had the strongest Branch of Inkatha here. Inkatha is a National Movement, which enables us, as men and women of Africa to struggle together for our human rights and our human dignity.

I wish to take advantage of my presence here today to thank the people of this area, for the staunch support, you have given to my leadership. It is something that strengthens my courage to know that I have following me, brothers and sisters of such great courage, which has enabled you to survive your struggles over nearly two hundred years.

Let me tell you that our struggle is still going to be very long and very demanding. Great prices are still going to be paid even with our lives, before we reach our liberation. It does not matter that our stance is a non-violent one, we would be bluffing ourselves, if we do not accept that some of us will pay even this supreme price of death, before we reach fulfilment. Evidence of this has been ample during the current situation. Let us not bluff ourselves that the struggle will be easy and short. Those who oversimplify it and I know we have plenty of these kind of people in kwaZulu, are grossly irresponsible, because the struggle is risky enough even played within the rules of the game of non-violence. There is no room for reckless political opportunists whose motivation is expediency in this struggle,

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whose stance amount to a calculated gamble with the lives of our people. Such reckless "politicking" has no room in the owder-keg situation of South Africa's racist politics.

With these words, let me say with great pride that I now wish to inaugurate the AmaNgwane Regional Branch of Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe.

Whilst thanking you for your contributions towards joining fees, let me stress that our struggle is an on-going one and we will need your contributions in the form of annual contribution during the struggle and even up to the post-liberation era.

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